1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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31However, almost all areas of Brazil have perennial labor shortages.

B [633] [162]

32In 1950, the urban centers in Brazil with more than 250,000 population were:

Rio de Janeiro	2,303,063
São Paulo	2,017,025
Recife	512,370
Salvador	389,422
Porto Alegre	375,049
Belo Horizonte	338,585

33Others are Campina Grande in Paraíba, Sorocaba in São Paulo, and Tres Corações and Campo Belo in Minas Gerais.

BB [133] [491]

34Cachoeira and São Félix are twin urban developments opposite each other on the Rio Paraguaçu. The river here is narrow, and the two centers are linked effectively by a combined railroad-highway bridge. In 1950 the population of Cachoeira was 10,825; the population of São Félix, 5,872. The two cidades are, in the main, a single functional unit.

BB [505] [493]

35Santo Amaro proper can be reached by sailing craft or canoes only, but small steamers of the type used in the Bay regularly ascend the Rio Sergi to the outskirts—the connection into the city proper is by a streetcar drawn by two recalcitrant mules.

36There is little direct evidence for this conclusion, but it is a reasonable inference from the present flow of goods and the observable decline in wealth and prestige in these cities. Nowadays the steamers which serve these ports carry passengers almost exclusively, and the number of sailing craft (saveiros) loading is generally small. It should be noted that trucks play a much more important role in the movement of goods than the railroads, except in the sugar zone, and that busses rival railroads as passenger carriers. The main highway system of Bahia has by-passed both Santo Amaro and Cachoeira.

BB [491]

37An all-weather road is now being constructed from Conceição do Almeida to Maragogipe. This will enable passengers and goods moving toward Salvador via the Bay to by-pass Cachoeira-São Félix. This may well further reduce the importance of the latter and increase the growing prosperity of Maragogipe.

BB [491]

38Muritiba is only 5 kilometers from São Félix, but the two cities are quite distinct. São Félix-Cachoeira occupies the lower slopes of the narrow valley of the Rio Paraguaçu. A belt, composed of the upper slopes and the edge of the Uplands, which is all either cultivated or in second growth, makes a distinct but narrow, 3 kilometers wide, break between Muritiba and São Félix.

39Nazaré is the main shop and Santo Antônio an important station of the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré. The terminus of the "Nazaré" is São Roque do Paraguaçu—down river from Maragogipe. Castro Alves is on the Brumado, Caculé, and Rio de Janeiro branch of the "Léste," and Serrinha is on the Alagoinhas, Bonfim, Juàzeiro branch of the same line.

40Estimated from 1940 occupational data.

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241 over the forest or the caatinga. In most areas it is the second growth, not the cultivated fields, which dominates the landscape.

241 361 443 634 The scale of the maps accompanying the following sections does not allow the indication of one of the significant patterns of cropland distribution in the Recôncavo--the concentration of cultivation around the cidades, the political centers. Each cidade is the economic focus of its município and is usually the primary market for the products of its cultivators. The poorly developed system of transportation in the [489] rural areas puts a premium on proximity to the market center. Thus in most of the municípios there is a decrease in cultivation away from the cidade, and where the municípios are large, such as on the northern and western perimeter of the Recôncavo, cropland becomes very widely scattered 241 before the political boundary is reached. This centralized distribution 361 443 of cropland has been complicated by the development of roads and truck • 491 traffic. Cultivators tend to cluster along the main highways with little regard for the absolute distance to the market of the cidade; accessibility as represented by time rather than distance seems to be the more important factor in choosing land for cultivation, providing that land is available. The pattern of concentration of cultivation along the highway is especially characteristic of the Upland sections of the Recôncavo.[1]

241 198 There are many exceptions to the modes of cropland distribution mentioned above. In the Recôncavo tradition and prestige often contravene direct economic self-interest. On a large scale the persistence of sugar cultivation is an example of the unwillingness to explore new sources of income. In other areas the traditional social advantages of land ownership may impede the subdivision of large properties into farms or rented plots, even where hired labor is not available to 000 cultivate the land efficiently. Livestock production, which offers

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243 311 433 The Recôncavo as a whole had 9,679 hectares of corn, with a production of 10,283 tons. Of this, 87 per cent of the area and 84 per cent of the production was in Santo Estêvão, Feira de Santana, and Irará (Maps 34, 35, and 36). The area and production of the Recôncavo were about the same as for one adjacent município, Serrinha, which had 8,500 hectares and 11,590 tons of corn in 1948.

243 311 Most of the corn grown and produced in the Recôncavo comes from two compact concentrations, one around the cidade of Irará; the other around the cidade of Santo Estêvão. Elsewhere in the Recôncavo it is grown either on very widely scattered plots or as a "garden" crop.[23]

The concentration of corn production is the result of several physical and economic factors. It is cultivated on the dry margins of the Recôncavo, where only a few restricted areas can produce a crop. 243 Though a commercial product of moderate value, its weight- or bulk-price [438] relationship is not highly favorable to long transportation to market-- [489] in contrast to tobacco, which tends to attach itself to even the smallest and most remote semi-subsistence plot, and in contrast to beef, [491] which in Bahia is moved to market on the hoof. The concentration around Santo Estêvão, which is on the main trunk highway to Feira de Santana, is favorable for the transportation of the crop, and the Irará concentration is linked to Feira by a generally passable road. [251] In the more humid parts of the Recôncavo, corn is restricted not only by its poor competitive position vis-à-vis sugar cane or tobacco, but also by its harvest requirements; it must be harvested and stored in the proper season, while manioc may be harvested as it is needed, a great advantage for a subsistence crop.

243 311 433 Corn, although the second most important subsistence crop of the Recôncavo, occupied in 1948 only 12 per cent of the total cropland.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 182]

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000 Footnotes - Chapter VII

[436] [1]The approximate value of the cruzeiro at the time these data were compiled by the government was five cents.

[127] [2]The basic sources for data on livestock populations used in the following discussion were: (1) Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "Pobulação Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948," pp. 1-8; (2) Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

[3]Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

[4]The use of the term "milk shed," generally applied to the tremendous movement of milk into the highly urbanized centers of the United States and western Europe, is somewhat inappropriate for the small-scale operations in Bahia. However, the essential elements are the same: the movement from countryside to urban places of fluid milk for home consumption.

[127] [5]Anuario Estatística do Brasil--1953 is used as a source of 1952 data on the livestock population of the state of Bahia in this and the following discussion.

[491] [6]Although there are trunk highways through São Gonçalo and Feira de Santana, the back country of each is remote from the cidade and the highway.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 433 [245] [439] neglect the critical tobacco producing areas. It seems to be true that the chief recipients of political and economic attention have been the traditionally important sugar cane area, and more recently the cacao [491] zone. The people of the tobacco area complain particularly about the lack of roads.

244 433 Not only is manioc the basic source of subsistence for the Recôncavo, it is also the second crop in value of production. Its cultivation, as has been seen, is closely associated with the production of tobacco, so that the Southwestern Recôncavo, which produced 63 per cent of the tobacco crop, also contributed a very large part--48 per cent--of the total value of manioc (Map 121). However, manioc is important in its own right, as well as in its relationship to tobacco. No data are available to indicate the importance of manioc as a surplus product which is sold beyond the borders of the município in which it is grown. A rough estimate can be made by assuming that the per capita consumption of manioc is 400 kilograms per year--this is the mean consumption for the state of Bahia. Using this figure in conjunction with the population data, it is possible to estimate that in 1948 about 30,000 tons of surplus manioc was produced in the Recôncavo. Ninety per cent of this surplus was produced in the municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo. [489] [494] It is significant that many of the trucks passing from the Southwestern Recôncavo to Feira de Santana and Salvador are piled high with bags of farinha de mandioca. The total value of commercial manioc would be about Cr.$6,500,000, so that on this basis manioc is the fourth or fifth most valuable commercial crop of the Recôncavo. Using the above method of determination, it was found that several municípios adjoining the region also produced surpluses of manioc. The most notable of these were the four municípios adjacent to the Southwestern Recôncavo--Nazaré, São Miguel, Santo Antônio, and Castro Alves--which produced a

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 350]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

their journeys thus, and many agricultural products are transported in no other fashion from the site of cultivation to the ultimate consumer. [491] In each of the municípios of the Recôncavo, as in almost all of Brazil, there are extensive areas which are neither on nor near roads. In these areas, but also along the highways and in the cities, men and beasts of burden transport the products of the agricultural economy. Long distance transportation, formerly dependent on animals, has been changed in the last half century by the introduction of railroads and more recently, automotive vehicles. In a similar fashion, both primitive and relatively modern transport are used on the waters of the Bâia de Todos os Santos and of the various estuaries. Most of the agricultural products which cross the Bay are carried on open-decked sailing vessels and canoes, but there are also a number of motor vessels and motorboats which provide relatively effective transport from Salvador to all the cidades on or near tidewater.

In the tobacco-manioc region, and in rural Brazil generally, the donkey or the mule is the characteristic beast of burden. On the backs of these animals the bales of tobacco, the sacks of manioc and farinha de mandioca, and the baskets of corn and vegetables are carried to the market. The equipage of the donkey is simple--a halter and a rough crosstree pack saddle with a thick pad of vegetable fiber. In the sugar cane region the donkey is supplemented and, in most areas, almost supplanted by the ox cart. [191] The ox cart of Bahia, essentially like the carts used in other Brazilian sugar areas, is built of heavy wood, with a thick wooden bed and tongue, wooden axle, and solid wooden wheels about five-feet in diameter. This high, massive contraption has no bearings, and in dry weather especially it is frequently necessary to repair the wheels and axles. The ox cart is an admirable device for the Cretaceous lowland, for with its high wheels it can carry as much

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

as a ton of cane through the rain-softened clay. It is pulled, depending upon the load and the condition of the route, by four, six, or eight oxen. It has no brakes, although occasionally a long pole is used as a drag. The cart and the team are managed by two people, a man who rides the cart, goads the wheel oxen, and shouts directions, and a boy who runs in front and turns the lead oxen with a long slender pole. As has been seen, a very large number of oxen are maintained on the sugar cane plantations and the accessory ranches of the area. Donkeys are used in the cane area for lesser tasks, such as carrying seed cane, tools, and subsistence products; both horses and mules are used for riding--usually the plantation foremen ride the patient, slow-moving mules, while the owners and administrators ride the small, agile horses which come from the sertão. In most other parts of the Recôncavo, in the littoral forest and in the dry caatinga, the donkey and mule are the universal beasts of burden.

One município of the Recôncavo--Coração de Maria--has no motor roads, and is thus served only by pack animals. The cidades of all the other municípios are on highways of some sort, but usually only a single road passes directly across the município. The back-country of the municípios, which in this sense includes about nine-tenths of the total area, is criss-crossed with a network of trails. Some of these are wide enough for an ox cart, or in very good weather, for a jeep to pass through. Many others are only narrow paths winding through the second growth and passing between cultivated fields.

Land transportation between the various parts of the Recôncavo has less direct agricultural importance than in the United States, since so much of the agricultural produce is consumed within the município in which it is grown. Those agricultural products, such as tobacco or sugar, which are destined for non-local or external markets are

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 373]

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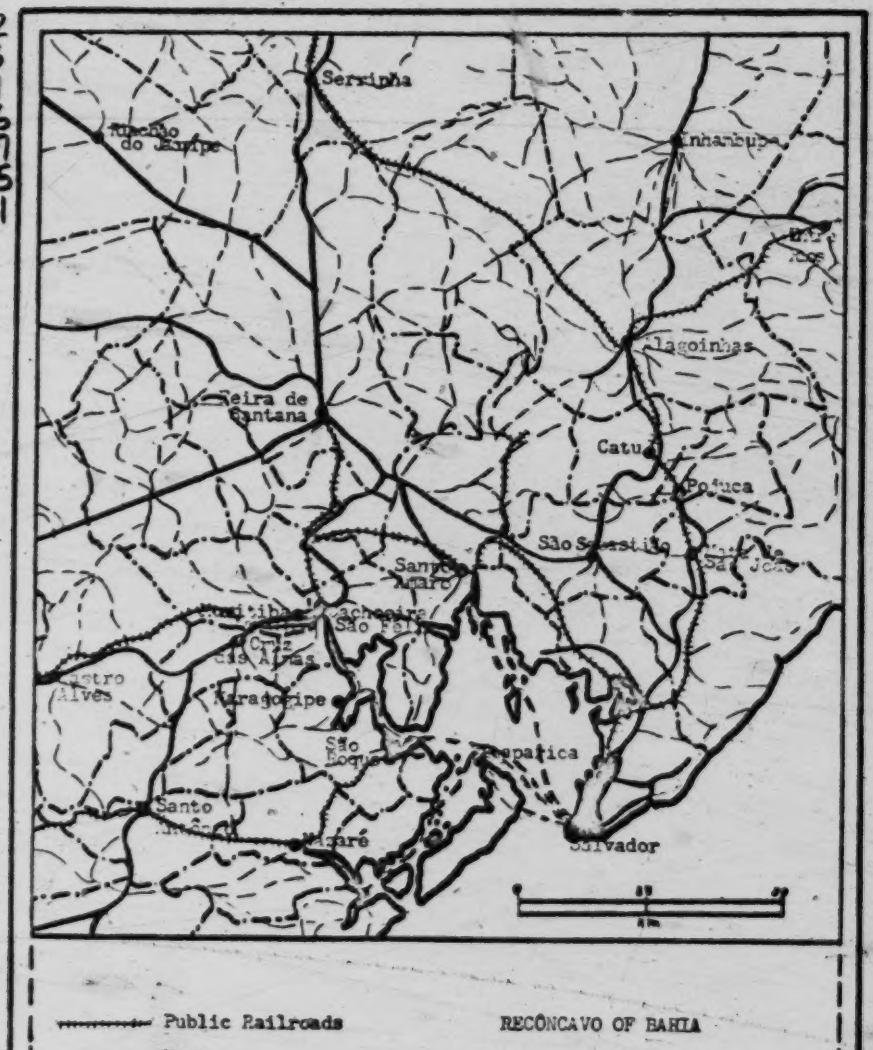

MAP 129

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 497 on trains owned by the sugar company. In addition, much of the sugar, rum, and alcohol which is manufactured by the big usinas is transported to Salvador over the lines of the Leste.

493 491 As has been suggested, automotive transport has come to have great importance in the Recôncavo, despite the lack of good roads, the high cost of vehicles and fuel, and the competition of both boats and trains. No 491 município in the region can be said to have a road network, and usually only the cidades and in a few cases large villas are connected with other parts of the region. The principal road of the region is a dirt highway which connects Salvador with Feira de Santana. Feira is an important transportation center for the Northeast of Brazil, for it is the southern terminus of the Nordestina, the trunk highway which crosses the Sertão. The Nordestina joins the main road to Rio de Janeiro and the road to Salvador at Feira de Santana. A branch from the Salvador-Feira road turns southward and, passing through Cachoeira, São Félix, and Cruz das Almas, connects westward to Castro Alves and southward to the cacao zone. There is also a road from Salvador to Alagoinhas and other cities of the Tertiary zone farther north. A few lesser roads feed into these three main highways--the most important of these is the connection between Santo Amaro and the Feira to Salvador road.

All of the main highways are two-lane dirt roads which are almost always passable but which are extremely rough and are dusty in dry 491 weather and slippery when wet. The quality of the roads is probably 484 best illustrated by the time required to journey across the Recôncavo. The road distance from Salvador to Cruz das Almas is about 125 miles; the time required for a non-stop trip is 6 to 7 hours. It should be added that despite the poor road conditions, traffic moves very fast, and there are many accidents. To a very limited extent it is possible

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

491 for vehicles to pass from the main highways over the broader trails
484 to the nearby villages in good weather. However, this is rarely attempted except by jeep, and by these only infrequently.

249 Until the last few years a number of the large usinas in the main
499 sugar cane area have not been connected with the highways. Since jeeps and trucks have become more numerous in the Recôncavo, a number of the big usinas in Santo Amaro are constructing their own outlets to the
315 highway. In recent years the government-owned oil company has been
655 drilling exploratory wells in the cane fields of São Francisco. In
491 conjunction with this enterprise, new roads have been built, and for the
499 first time many plantations of this area have road connections to the highway system.

494 Most of the traffic on the roads of the Recôncavo consists of
493 trucks and busses--private automobiles generally are found only in the urban areas, since cars are very expensive in Brazil, and the highways are very destructive. A large number of busses connect the outer Recôncavo with Salvador. The best passenger service, and the most expensive, is provided by a major bus line which has a daily run from Salvador to Feira de Santana and back. While this bus line employs large busses, most of the other busses used in the Recôncavo are small. These latter provide connections between the Southwestern Recôncavo and Salvador, and supplement the major Feira de Santana-Salvador service. The runs of many of these smaller busses originate outside the Recôncavo, but they collect and discharge passengers at each cidade. Fares are cheap, considering the cost of vehicles and fuel, but still somewhat more expensive than train travel.

Truck traffic is very heavy on the main highways, especially from Feira de Santana to Salvador. Probably most of the agricultural

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546 health post, and the bar have refrigerators. On Saturday and Sunday nights there is a movie, the same film being shown both nights.

• 491 There are only two roads leading out of the town. One goes
492 northwest to Centro, following a ridge which leads along the river through a section of poor soil devoted to gardens of man-
484 ioc and bananas. On horseback it is a trip of approximately two hours to Centro. The other road leads northeast into the sugar-cane fields and to the sugar factory and then continues east, eventually leading to the oil fields of Conselho and out onto the major Bahian artery from Salvador to the interior city of Feira de Santana. The journey from Vila Recôncavo to the main highway takes about four hours on horseback. Although the local road, made during the empire and part of the public domain, is called the "royal road," it is really only one-track dirt. In the summer it affords a hard surface because the hot sun bakes the earth, but during the winter it turns into a river of mud. During the rainy season the layer of clay underneath the topsoil holds the water, turning the roads into practically impassable quagmires. The situation becomes even worse just after the rains end and the surface dries, for when a man or animal breaks through the dried surface and sinks down into the clay the suction created is difficult to overcome. A trip which during the summer takes half an hour on horseback may take from three to four hours in the winter. The horse must pick and choose each step with the utmost care. During these months travel is extremely fatiguing for horses and mules, and frequent changes of mount are necessary. During this part of the year one avoids making an inland journey if possible, and keeps to the waterways.

491 From Usina to Conselho (see map of community), the road
[421] has been recently coated with oil, sand, and broken stone by the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo in an attempt to make an all-weather route. The surfacing has proved fairly satisfactory but very expensive. Although this highway follows the old "royal road," it is owned by the conselho. When a plantation owner of the area wishes to pass over it in his car or
[493] jeep, he must secure permission from the conselho office in Salvador. Nevertheless, in the past year this road has proved
[484] a boon to the plantation owners, who can now go back and forth to their homes in the city in about two hours at almost any time of the year, eliminating the long journey by horseback or canoe to the town of Vila Recôncavo to take the boat. The

2: Hutchinson E-4, 6 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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indicates work done in these fields. The top of the stalk just below the leaves is used as seed.

"Cutting out cattle" refers to selecting cattle from the herd to be used for the day's transportation. The "trip to neighboring plantation" means that Malaquias was sent to another plantation on an errand either for Dona Sinhá or for Seu Paulo on some plantation business, such as to get the payroll sheets, which are made up by a resident of another plantation. "Planting" means the first planting of sugar cane, while "replanting" means planting cane in the spaces where the first seed did not grow, either because it was buried too deeply, or because after planting it received too much sunshine or too much rain. Such spaces are always filled in when the new cane reaches a height of several inches.

[463] "Carpentering," a craft, commands a higher salary than agricultural work. Sometimes a plantation keeps a carpenter on a regular salary; at other times he is hired from the factory, as is the case here. His work may be on the wooden carts used for transportation or on any of the many houses of the plantation.

[491] An estiva is a type of makeshift bridge crossing a drainage ditch or a low spot on the road where water collects during the rainy season. It is usually no more than four or five yards long and a yard or two wide. The lengthwise pieces are bamboo with other pieces of the same material laid across them close together. Then earth is placed on top and smoothed off. These bridges require constant repair work. During the height of the rainy season they often break up entirely and float away. They are often quite perilous for horses, burros, and oxen, whose legs sometimes go through the bamboo latticework.

[233] "Catching escaped cattle" requires some agility on the part of the person who does it. It is usually done on foot, and if the ox or cow is in a cane field it must be worked out carefully in order not to destroy too much of the standing sugar cane. "Repairing fences" accompanies catching escaped cattle, for the animals often break through the fences enclosing their pastures. The fence posts are usually of bamboo, which rots quickly and must be constantly watched and replaced as it shows signs of weakening. "Cutting bamboo" is done for many [824] different ends. Most plantation boundary lines are marked by rows of graceful bamboos whose wood is used for fence posts and estivas, as well as for the wicker framework of the mud-covered houses.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

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the refinery, namely gasoline, kerosene, diesel oil, bottled gas, and other petroleum derivatives. As a result of the increased income, the county government will be able to build up the county seat considerably. A hospital is already being built, as well as a new dock for the boat which comes from the city.

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In Milagres, located in the neighboring county, there is already a considerable movement for breaking away from the parent county and becoming a separate municipio, a common pattern in Brazil for districts which reach a certain population and degree of economic activity. Thus there are two possibilities for urban growth in the area and for the formation of urban centers which will attract the large rural population. The town of Vila Recôncavo is close to realizing other possibilities. The construction of a road from the town to Centro has already begun, filling a long-felt need. Its completion will make it possible for cars, buses, and trucks to come from Feira, on the edge of the sertão, to Centro, down through Vila Recôncavo to Milagres, and on into the city, shortening the long trip by the existing road which follows the edges of the Recôncavo. Such traffic would "put Vila Recôncavo on the map," and would greatly increase its contacts with the outside world. In addition, the possibilities of the introduction of a new crop to the community will bring increased commercial activity and a much greater tax income, enabling the county to build its own roads and bridges and to make other improvements for the development of the area.

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Thus the community structure of Vila Recôncavo, which five years ago was in the process of crystallizing around the factory town, is now ripe for further change. The factory town continues for the present to be the major center, but the old county seat has all the possibilities of a rebirth of its former importance. In fact, because of the petroleum industry and the forthcoming changeover from sugar cane to cacao, the factory town is threatened as a community center, the position which it has only recently been consolidating.

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Finally, one of the most important changes in Vila Recôncavo in these five years is a change in attitude on the part of the people. Vila Recôncavo was always known as a conservative community, maintaining its old traditions and ways, rejecting innovations. However, there is now an air of expectancy and a search for new ways and new things. Dissatisfaction with the sugar industry, combined with the appearance

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